

## Message Text

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53

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 ACDA-07

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O R 071210Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5162

INFO USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBAXSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASHA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0533

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, SF

SUBJ: MINISTER ALLEGES US TOLD SOUTH AFRICA NOT TO TAKE LUANDA

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. DURING ACRIMONIOUS MAY 6 PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, PRP OPPOSITION MEMBER HARRY SCHWARZ SAID THAT SA DEFENCE MINISTER P.W. BOTHA HAD TOLD HIM IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT "THE AMERICANS" TOLD SOUTH AFRICA NOT TO TAKE LUANDA.

2. ALLEGATION SURFACED AFTER BOTHA, HINTING THAT SCHWARZ WAS MORE PATRIOTIC THAN HIS PRP COLLEAGUES, SAID SCHWARZ HAD

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TOLD HIM DURING A VISIT TO THE ANGOLA BORDER AREA THAT SOUTH

AFRICA SHOULD HAVE GONE ON TO TAKE LUANDA. SCHWARZ, ANGRILY ACCUSING BOTHA OF VIOLATING A PERSONAL CONFIDENCE WITHOUT TELLING THE WHOLE STORY, THEN STATED: "I SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT HAVE GONE INTO ANGOLA EXCEPT TO SECURE THE POSITION OF THE (CALUEQUE) DAM. I ALSO SAID THAT IF YOU GO FURTHER, THEN DON'T MAKE A HALF JOB OF IT--TAKE THE AIRPORTS AND PORTS TO STOP THE RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS FROM LANDING ARMS. I ASKED: WHY DID YOU STOP? AND I WILL NOT GIVE THE ANSWER BECAUSE IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL." AT THIS POINT BOTHA WAIVED HIS HAND DEPRECATINGLY AND SAID: "DO SO. DO SO." SO SCHWARZ WENT ON: "YOU TOLD ME THAT THE AMERICANS TOLD US TO STOP."

3. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS, BOTHA IMMEDIATELY DENIED HE HAD BROKEN A CONFIDENCE (AS DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE AT SOCIAL FUNCTION WITH ARMY MEN AND WAS NOT CONFIDENTIAL), BUT MADE NO MENTION OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION. END UNCLASSIFIED

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4. COMMENT. BOTHA'S REMARK, AS EXPRESSED BY SCHWARZ (PERHAPS CONVENIENTLY FROM BOTHA'S VIEWPOINT), ADDS ONE MORE BRICK OF INNUENDO TO WHAT SEEMS TO BE A PURPOSELY CREATED STRUCTURE OF BELIEF PROBABLY SHARED TO SOME DEGREE BY MOST SOUTH AFRICANS, REGARDLESS OF COLOR OR POLITICAL PERSUASION, (AND BY PEOPLE IN OTHER AFRICAN STATES WHO ARE INFLUENCED BY NEWS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS) THAT SOMEHOW OR OTHER, SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA WAS AIDED AND ABETTED BY THE USG FROM THE OUTSET, THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST HAVE GONE INTO ANGOLA WITH ADVANCE US KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL AND PERHAPS FOLLOWED US TACTICAL ADVICE ON ITS DEPLOYMENT AND EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS. THIS BELIEF IS A CONVENIENT DEFENCE, OF COURSE, TO CHARGES THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION WAS A SERIOUS MISCALCULATION, FOR IT IMPLIES THAT SUCCESS MIGHT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR BAD ADVICE OR UNFULFILLED ASSURANCES ("BETRAYAL") ON THE PART OF THE US.

5. THE INSINUATION THAT SOUTH AFRICAN MOVES IN ANGOLA  
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WERE TAKEN ON THE ADVICE OF THE US SHOULD NOT GO UNCHALLENGED UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TO HAVE THIS BECOME THE INCREASINGLY ACCEPTED VERSION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. ON THE OTHER HAND IT WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT FOR THE EMBASSY EVEN WITH NEW GUIDANCE TO COMMENT ON THE MATTER IN SOUTH AFRICA ALONE, FOR WE HAVE ALREADY DRAWN FREQUENTLY ON EARLIER GUIDANCE (STATE 41505 OF FEBRUARY 20) TO STATE THAT "SOUTH AFRICA ENTERED THE

ANGOLAN WAR ON ITS OWN ACCORD AND TO PROTECT ITS OWN INTEREST. THIS INVOLVEMENT WAS UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT EITHER CONSULTATIONS OR ANY KIND OF ASSURANCES FROM US. RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS REPORTS CITING SECRET UNDERSTANDINGS OR IMPLICIT ASSURANCES FROM WASHINGTON ARE ENTIRELY WITHOUT FOUNDATION.

6. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, NEW PRESS GUIDANCE IS NEEDED. BELIEVE MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH WOULD BE TO HAVE DEPARTMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN ANSWER PLANTED QUESTION ABOUT BOTHA'S REMARK ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: WE ARE NOT SURE JUST WHAT THE REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO SAG OFFICIALS ARE INTENDED TO CONVEY, AS SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN ANGOLA IS APPARENTLY STILL A MATTER OF DOMESTIC DEBATE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, WHATEVER ELSE THEY MAY SAY, THE BASIC FACT IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA SENT ITS TROOPS INTO ANGOLA WITHOUT ADVANCE NOTICE TO OR ADVICE FROM THE USG. BOTH PUBLICLY AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION AND SOUTH AFRICA, THE US EXPRESSED ITS DEEP CONCERN WITH THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA AND MADE CLEAR OUT BELIEF THAT THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF ANGOLA WAS A PEACEFUL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN WHICH NO ONE GROUP WOULD DOMINATE THE OTHERS. ANY INSINUATION THAT THE INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA BY SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WAS CONDUCTED UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF THE TRUTH.

7. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS BY IMMEDIATE CABLE. BELIEVE WASHINGTON REACTION URGENTLY NEEDED. WE HAVE ALREADY HAD PRESS INQUIRY ASKING IF RESPONSE OR EVEN PROTEST TO SAG IS LIKELY, TO WHICH WE GAVE SIMPLE OFF-RECORD REPLY THAT WE ARE REPORTING DEVELOPMENT TO WASHINGTON AND AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS.

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